At a time when the people are pay-Expenses of the war with the Filinos, and other expenses of our coican congress mustered in more han two full brigades of new federal office-holders, and increased the talaries of nearly a regiment of oth-841.48 over the amount appropriated for the last fiscal year.

I hold in my hand an official table, comprising 523 printed pages, disclosing the details of the shameless looting of the national treasury. This ex-

In other words, my fellow-citizens, the McKinley administration has just ed and of salaries increased.

Comment upon this stupendous waste of public money is unnecessary. protect our ravished treasury.

Mr. Chairman, I now desire to subpenditures, which also conclusively of invention has hovered over the trou- fix the price of manufactured articles establish the extravagance of the Mc-

ending June 30, 1900, were \$1,394,792, 388.22. In other words, the first three years of the administration of President McKinley cost the tax payers \$84,329,549.12 more in money actually expended than the last three years the administration of President Cleveland. This is an object lesson, which should not fail to have an impressive effect upon the people of the country; for I reiterate the statement that this stupendous increase of expenditures under this administration is entirely exclusive of war expenditures. The plea may be offered that the increase is due to the growth of business and the expansion of territory. This view is a mistaken one, because these mighty totals do not include a single item of expenditure mairs in our colonial dependencies. Cuba, which to now under the control of our army, during the last calendar year paid into her own treasury \$16,-346,015.17, and of this vast sum \$14,085,-805.32 has been charged up by the representatives of this government for the cost of administration there. Of course this exhibit as to Cuba includes only the money which found its way into the treasury of that island. I do not know how much, if any, was stolen in transit. It appears, however, that our officials there have humiliated the republic before the world by the acknowledged theft of \$131,000 up to this date, which has been made good to the Cubans by an appropriation from our own treasury. I have not included the income and expenditures of either Porto Rico or the Philippine islands. In the comparison submitted, as between the cost of this administration and that of Mr. Cleveland, I have, as heretofore stated, not included expenditures on account of our colonies. I have limited the comparison to three years, because this administration has not yet concluded a four-year period, but at the present rate of expenditure the four-year term of President McKinley will cost the people considerably more than one hundred millions of dollars in excess of the cost of the last administration of President Clevland. The extravagance of the republican national administration is further demonstrated by the per capita expenditure, which was only \$6.09 in 1896, but in excess of \$6.18 in 1900. How long the people will continue to tolerate the exactions of the republican treasury spoliators remains to be seen. Our people are long suffering, it is true, but the time is not far distant when a revolution in public sentiment will retire to private life

not only just and righteous, but in petition in order to make an intellientire accord with the policy of this gent application of remedial legisla-Republic until the recent decision of tion. It will not be denied that there entire capital of the company. the supreme court declaring its un- are certain trusts which are due to the constitutionality. That decision re- monopoly of partiral advantages. The versed the decision and precedents anthracite Coal Trust is a notable exof that august tribunal for a century, ample of this character of trust due and the country shares the apprehen- to the ownership by a few individuals life's inexorable necessities. I could sion of Mr. Justice Brown, of the only anthracite coal mines in stand here till the going down of the a republican judge, in his dissenting the United States. There is another sun multiplying citations and piling opinion, when he expressed the fear kind of trust due in part to a monopo- evidence upon evidence to show the that the decision might in some hour | ly of natural advantages and in part of danger rise up to paralyze the arm to the advantages incident to our trusts. I will conclude with a single of the government. The income tax patent laws and the discrimination by illustration furnished by the repubhas heretofore been a powerful railroad companies in their favor. agent in sustaining the treasury The Standard Oil Trust is a conspicwhen threatened with depletion and exhaustion. The tax upon incomes trusts. The ownership of the best pat- THE REPUBLICAN PRESS FOR constituted a large part of the na- ent for refining the oil, the ownership tional revenue during the civil strife, of nearly all of the large producing and did much to keep our flag in the sky during that unhappy period. The railroad rates were the causes which recent war with Spain has empha- contributed to the organization of sixed the baneful effects of the deci- this powerful monopoly. sion of the supreme court. That war to call its citizens into the army and be the outgrowth in large part of this navy to defend the national honor, civilization which alls for enormous thad no constitutional power to re- and expensive plants.

THE INCOME TAX.

great leader, Mr. Bryan. He says: Where visible property is taxed and amendment placing trust-made the invisible property escapes, the products and all articles enpossessors of visible property are tering into overtaxed in order to make up for the of such goods upon the free ng extraordinary taxes to meet the evasion of those who possess invisible list. The amendment was rejected in property. But even when a property the house of representatives by a vote tax is honestly collected upon all of 148 to 197-a strict party vote. All mial dependencies, the recent re- frrms of property, real and personal, of the silver republicans, populists it is not as fair a tax as an income and democrats supported the amendtax. Property may be temporarily ment, and every republican present unproductive. If a farmer pays taxes voted to reject it. That amendon his land, the tax goes on, even ment was the outgrowth of congress, only a few weeks since, lender pays a tax upon his money, his industrial civilization a high THE TRUST EVIL.

My fellow-citizens, time forbids an hibit, among other things, shows that almost everywhere apparent. The isthe net increase of new offices, spe- sue of competition against consolidacifically created by the last republion is one fraught with tremendous lican congress, was 2,270, carrying effects upon the happiness and prosannual salaries amounting to \$2,593,- perity of the great bedy of the peo-015.77. The exhibit also shows a net ple. This is an era of consolidation increase of \$2,641,647.84, annually, to and concentration, the result in part pay the salaries of new officers out of of a striking revolution in our indus-"lump" appropriations. It further trial civilization due to the discoveries duction, and thus under existing high shows that \$133,529.75 has been added of the powers of steam and electricity, tariff conditions, in some measure, and their application to machinery, tothe obligations imposed by raising the gether with unwise legislation. The salaries of 479 federal officials already steady tend of events under republican legislation is in the direction of powerful monoplies. It is full time for six months in any given not possible, neither is it desirable, to year their output will be ample to appropriated \$5,368,193.36 to pay the put a limit upon the inventive genius meet the necessities of the home maryearly expenses of new offices creat- of our people. Invention has made it possible to bring comfort and even to eighteen months. The conclusion, luxuries to the homes of the humblest. therefore, can not be escaped that and if the United States, by beneficent with a policy of commercial exclusion It would seem that the time had come legislation, should harness the mighty when the people must interpose to forces of this civilization for the benefit of all the people, there would be but few monopolistic clouds upon the mit a comparative statement of ex- sky of our domestic future. The spirit

bled waters of human toil until the Kinley administration. This exhibit transformation is the marvel of the deals with expenditures only, which, af- age. Invention has wrought mightily, ter all, is perhaps the best test, because and enormously increased production all appropriations are not expended. in every arena of enterprise. There I submit a comparison of the last has been enlarged production on the three years of the administration of farms in the mines, in the manufac-President Cleveland with the first tories-whenever there is a labor, and three years of the administration of there should also be a cheapening of President McKinley. This statement the cutput and consequent increase of includes every dollar of governmental consumption; thus increasing the emexpense with the exception of the es- ployment of labor. By the aid of latimated expenses consequent upon bor-saving machinery 600 hands in the the war with Spain and with the Fili- manufacture of agricultural implements can now do the work formerly The total money actually expended requiring 2,200 men. In the manuby the government for the three fiscal facture of boots and shoes one hand years ending June 30, 1896, amounted now does the work formerly requiring to \$1,310,462,539.10. The total expenditures for the last three fiscal years pets one man cen now accomplish a result which in other days required ten crease of production is seen; and in the great industries of cotton and woolen goods, iron, steel, sawed lumber, paper, fleer and grist mills, it is estimated that 517,299 persons with the aid of machinery perform the labor formerly requiring 15,425,093 per-

Mr. W. C. Dedge, a protectionist of national reputation, and the author of a recent publication entitled, "Our Country; What it is, and what has made it what it is." (Senate Document No. 438.), among other things, says: "But while in past years protection in the ferm of a tariff was of the utmost importance and assistance in building up our manufacturing industries, it nnected with the administration of must be apparent to every observing person that protection in the form of a tariff is constantly becoming of less importance to us," Continuing, he says: "Now, how is it, and what is it, that enables an operative to-day to produce so much more in a less number of hours than he could thirty or forty years 2go? It is simply invention -the inventions embodied in the im proved machines, tools, processes and stantly furnishing to our manufacturers." Again, he declares that "this re markable increase (manufactured products) has been largely, if not mainly, due to our inventions, stimulated and fostered by our patent system." Continuing further he says:' The cost of production has been in that way (by labor-saving machinery) enormously decreased. One man with the work which it required ten men to do without machinery. That has greatly reduced the prices of such articles."

I could multiply quotations, but I have made a sufficient number to establish that labor-saving machinery enormously auguments production while at the same time it should cheapen the output, increase the conbor and give added employment to labor. But for unwise legislation these happy results would be as certain as the course of the seasons or the revolution of the earth upon its axis.

Monopolies are essential to the organization of trusts; because they can not exist in the presence of competition. It fellows, therefore, logically that trusts are the rich fruitage of monopolies. One of the great writers on political economy anticipated the present condition of our country in the terse statement that, "where competition is not, monopoly is," Another writer of eminent ability declared with | cious greed of monopolies. the emphasis of unanswerable logic all representatives, whatever may be that "where combination is possible, the party name, who have wantonly competition is impossible."

squandered the public money, and Mr. Chairman, it being chvious that thus proven faithless to their trusts. fair competition, the people must as- cent., which added to prior dividends, The demand for an income tax is certain the causes which prevent com- amount to 38 per cent. for the present

nous example of this character of wells, and the discriminating favor of

The great Cattle Trust at Chicago, called to mind the stern fact that which plunders our farmers, is anwhile the government had the power other form of trut which seems to the country press. Unanswerable ar-

quire accumulated wealth to bear its | In my opinion, however, and in the | the Kansas City platform to place fost proportion of the expenses of judgment of the democratic party, trust-made products upon the free government. The son and the husband and the father could be required industrial vampires in our country entering into the manufacture of pato follow our flag up San Juan hill, are due to the existing high tariff sys- per used by the press of course shuts or battle with Dewey in Manila bay, tem. It is estimated that \$8,000,000,- out competition, and thus enables the or with Schley off Santiago, but no 000 of capital have been organized un- manufacturers of paper to organize cyy could be made on the incomes der trust control during the last few a trust, again vindicating the maxim: great wealth to maintain our glo- years, and more than two-thirds of "Where competition is not, mononus navy and our invincible army. this mighty capitalization has sought oly is." justice of an income tax could the advantages of trust monopoly However, permit me to suggest to be more forcefully stated than since the Dingley tariff become a law. the editors and publishers of repub-

inder consideration I offered an manufacture

closed its first session, and with the security may fail, or there may be tariff necessarily becomes the "mothapproval of President McKinley in- default in the payment of the inter- er of trusts." It is the explanation creased the appropriations, exclusive est, while an income tax adjusts itself of the Kansas City platform in its of a Paper Trust for themselves, while ple of Porto Rico have gladly transof Spanish war expenses, by \$24,624,- to the condition of the tax payers, demands, not only for the enforcebeing large when the income is large, ment of existing anti-trust laws and and small when the income is small." the enactment of others, yet more stringent, but also for its ringing declaration that "tariff laws should be extended discussion of the great ques- amended by putting products of tion of trusts. Their evil effects are trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protec-

THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS. This demand of our national platform is supported by the following concise summary of facts. Labor-saving machinery, as I have already supplanted labor. The output of machines in whatever line of industry employed is so great that according to conservative estimates, if run upon ket for a period ranging from twelve the machines must be restricted in their output by closing down or running upon half-time, or there must be such a consolidation as will enable monopolies to limit production, and regardless of the law of supply and demand. The markets being limited by the barriers of obstructive taxation, the consumption of the products of the machines are thus limited. A tariff trust, therefore, under the republican system of protection, instead of being a subject of denunciation by Republicans, must be tolerated, if not commendbecause it furnishes the

only avenue of escape from ruinous competition. The home market can only consume a meager percentage of the output of labor-saving machines, because practically there is no foreign market except in disregard of the laws of reciprocal trade. It is true that our manufacturers do sell their surplus products to foreigners consumer, but the loss, if any, is made good at the expense of our own people. The net result, therefore, of the existing industrial civilization with the Dingley law in force is to compel the organization of trusts, thus limiting production and enhancing the prices of products here, while at the same time restricting our market abroad. It is a very difficult economic feat, as this country has learned, to sell to every nation in the world whilst refusing to buy from

That a high tariff does enable mo nopolies to intrench themselves behind its walls and ply their nefarious occupations at the expense of the apparent to the American people. quote in this connection an extract from an interview with a distinguished citizen of our country explaining the operations of the great Carnegie Iron and Steel Trust. He says: 'The Carnegie company is a practically impregnable monopoly. It controls all the materials of its manufacturing processes, from the iron ore of the Mesaba range to the finished article. It is a member of a combination or trust that includes the concerns big enough to be formidable ompetitors. Its enormous profits enable it by sheer weight of money to crush out competition from smaller concerns. Competition from abroad is effectually shut out by the tariff. The government of the United States is a powerful partner in the enterprise. Take the government out of the partnership, demolish the wall behind which these incredible profits have been gathered in, and the Carnegie company would no longer be able to tax the country as it has taxed

it for the last eight years." Fellow-citizens, this is an example of the methods employed by all the trusts. The exorbitant exactions of the Sugar Trust at this time are giving the American people an object lesson, instructive and yet very expensive. The retail merchants, the hotelkeepers, and nearly all other business classes are in the iron grasp of trust monopolies, which paralyze trade and intimidate individual enterprise. During the Jast few years the trusts have succeeded in removing the "scales" from the eyes of many of that great thrifty class of our peo ple known as commercial travelers. Year by year the ranks of this sturdy and enterprising business class are being thinned, because of the rapa

However the Standard Oil Trust and other trusts continue to enlarge their powers and enhance their profits. The Standard Oil Trust recently declared a dividend of 8 per year, or dividends aggregating in amount more than one-third of the The McKinley variety of "prosperi ty" which has been on exhibition re-

cently has manifested its presence largely, by marking up the prices of practical plundering operations of the lican press. It is a conclusive vindication of the fact that a high tariff does foster trusts.

FREE TRADE.

Within the last year or more democrats have been very much amused at some of the editorials appearing in republican newspapers demanding the removal of the tariff from articles entering into the manfacture of paper used by the metropolitan dailies and guments have thus unwittingly appeared in the columns of the republican press in support of the demand of

farmers, miners, laborers and other worthy classes of our people?

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, the democratic party will apply the ing the Paper Trust, shortly after it the secretary insisting that "justice comes into power on the 4th of March and good faith demand it." next. Under the democratic administration of Mr. Bryan this country will return to the world-wide policy of commercial expansion.

We intend to reduce the obstructive and thus destroy the Tariff Trust. We intend to repeal all laws which stand in the way of the restoration of trade, to compete with England for no longer be the emblem of our national humiliation on the high seas; we intend to abolish the Mark Hanna policy of the republican party which permits England to carry more than ninety per cent. of American commerce, while the Stars and the Stripes float over our vessels carrying less than ten per cent.; we intend to construct the Nicaragua canal by this government, and control and defend it without the aid or consent of Engin the orient by shortening the lines say to the men who own labor-saving machines: "Run them on full time," for with the restoration of commercial expansion you will find markets for your products in every seaport mart of the world; we intend to give to labor constant and profitable employment under this policy; we intend give the farmers better markets for their products under this policy; we intend, in fact, to establish an Empire of Commerce rather than an Empire of Force! With intelligent labor, unrivalled machinery, cheap capital and free institutions, this country, under the policies of the Kansas City platform, will become the mightiest commercial nation of all the ages It is not possible for the imagination of the most gifted artist to portray upon canvass the commercial glories which shall be ours, if we return to that policy under which this country once surpassed England in prowess

We want an empire upon the highways of ocean commerce and in the pire will not require large standing armies; it will not call for conquering legions; it will not depend upon gleaming bayonets or flashing swords. but will be buttressed upon the ability, the thrift and the energy of the American people which can master the world in commerce.

THE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM. But, fellow-citizen, I must hasten to a conclusion. I have already occupied more time than I had intended to occupy in the discussion of questions renow, in the order of my argument, to issue. It is not an issue involving the be ultimately uplifted into statehood. but an issue involving the acquisition of remote islands, already more densebe governed by congress as colonies in disregard of the protection of the constitution.

been a party of progress and of great the policy of expansion in entire harmony with the Monroe Doctrine. The first contest for territorial acquisition was with the old federal party, of our borders. At the time the demoeratic party inaugurated its first presof territory added to the Union prior to the acquisition of our island pos- vail-provided the trusts consent. sessions was a contribution by the democratic party. Our territorial area which was but 827,884 square miles at the time of the oragnization of the republic has expanded to 3,025,600 square miles under democratic states manship. I include the Alaskan territory, because even that acquisition was made under the administration of President Johnson after he abandoned the republican party.

The Louisiana purchase, Florida, Texas and the extensive domain added as a result of the Mexican war came into the Union under democame into the Union under demo-cratic administrations at a total cost of only \$52,200,000 to the national treasury. This cost, of course, does treasury. This cost, of course, does not include the \$20,000,000 paid for the Philippine islands under the Paris treaty. All of this vast empire was carved great sovereign states, now years ago, that "forcible annexation

questions consequent upon the war control of the island to its people." commondious docking privileges for cipate Cuba. the repair and construction of ves-

and the result was the annexation of the famous the entire Philippine archipelago at entitled to freedom. a burdensome cost to our tax-payers It see however, that while the expenditures. During the fiscal year measure as "Citizens of Porto Rice," Lest we torget, lest we torget, lest we torget,

When the Dingley tariff law was | Hean newspapers that if the enhanced and peril to our form of government. administration avows its purpose to of 1897, which immediately preceded and not of the United States. Trust, the trust itself being the out- plete schedule of the changes of the a different policy is to be applied to for our army were \$23,278,402.73, and republican leaders to deal with the growth of tariff protection, as they opinions of the president. The last the Filipinos, seven thousand miles the appropriations for the mainteadmit, then it follows that the aboli- one, as well as the others, involve away. The Filipinos have also made nance of the navy, other than approtion of the tariff will dissolve the consequences of very grave import a like glorious fight against Spain for priations for its increase, were \$19,trust. I concede the correctness of ance to the people. The president in freedom. Cuba, only ninety miles 083,606.95. The appropriations for the time the treaty was made between their logic and the justness of their his last annual message said: "Our from our shores, is to have liberty, fiscal year ending June 30th, 1900, the demand, but why limit it to remedial plain duty is to abolish the customs while the Philippine archipelago, in a year following the close of the war 10 of the treaty declares that "the legislation in one article of commerce tariffs between the United States and remote part of the globe, is to be govonly? If free trade in the articles en- Porto Rico and give her products free erned as a colonial dependency, untering into the composition of paper access to our markets." The secrewill abolish the Paper Trust and low- tary of war in his annual report also ing election shall reassert the opin- total of appropriations for the army er prices, why not apply the same declared: "The highest consideration up- and navy during the last fiscal year I In my opinion the people of the Philer officials now on the pay-roll. That though the crop may fail. If a money the conviction, that under our remedy to other trusts which have tions of justice and good faith deraised the prices of their products? mand that we should not disappoint with Spain. I may be pardoned for than fifty millions of unexpended bal-Is it not unfair for the republican the confident expectations of sharing quoting in this connection an extract ances, thus made by the republican press to ask relief from the exactions in our prosperity with which the peoat the same time clamoring for the ferred their allegiance to the United continuance of the Dingley law, which | States. We should treat the interest | annexation of the Philippine islands. | It appears, therefore, my fellowpermits the organization of Nail of this people as our own. I wish | The views I then expressed have been citizens, that the increase of our war Trusts, Lumber Trusts, Sugar Trusts, most strongly to urge that the cus- strengthened by the course of events. budget to carry the policy of "be-Steel Trusts, Barbed Wire Trusts and toms duties between Porto Rico and I then said: a thousand other trusts which rob the United States should be removed." Mr. Chairman, I have quoted the ut-terances of both the chief magistrate and his war adviser insisting upon the chief magistrate and his war adviser insisting upon the chief magistrate and his war adviser insisting upon the chief magistrate and and his war adviser insisting upon free trade between Porto Rico and very simple remedy of tariff reform the United States, the president deand dissolve all tariff trusts, includ- claring it to be "our plain duty" and

TENCHE THE CHARLEST KIND AND THE

A bill was introduced into the house of representatives by the chairman of the committee on ways and means (Mr. Payne), and in the senate by the wall of taxation to the revenue point, erystalize these recommendations into law. The ink upon these bills was scarcely dry before the most sudden change of views known in our adthe American merchant marine; we ministrative history occurred. The intend, under the policy of reciprocal reasons for the change are so startling that I will not assume to state retary of war under President Harrison), made in the senate March 30th of the present year, in which he gives, with some degree of indignation, the reasons for the change. After reciting the history of the proposed legislation, and quoting the views of the president and secretary of war, he says: "Following these recommendations a bill was introduced in this body by the senator from Ohio, the chairman of the committee, giving Porto Rico free trade. A like measland, and thus develop new markets ure was introduced in another body; but, presto! with little notice or apof ocean transportation; we intend to parent reason a bill comes to us levying a tax upon Porto Rican exports and imports.

lack of an official statement, or apparent reason for this sudden shift, should be slow to give up a line of action which we believe to be based on principle and justice, which we be- world's vast commerce, rather than an empire of mere force, even though our sistent course? It is charged that this change was demanded and brought about by the sugar and tobacco interests, and also, it is stated, by organized labor.

"I, however, have failed to see that the representatives of this latter interest appeared before the committee. It is practically admitted that free trade with Porto Rico does not harm these interests materially, but Mr. Oxnard, for the Sugar Interest. and Mr. Myrick and Mr. Frye, president of the Tobacco Growers' associaharm them if adopted in reference to the Philippines and Cuba. It will be time to cross those rivers when we crossing will not be difficult when the proper time comes for action."

Fellow-citizens, the Porto Rican tariff bill was the outcome of the most shameless exhibition of the power of trusts and the most ignoble surrender to them made by any administration in the history of our country. The surrender was made, as declared by Senator Proctor, not be- country being \$5,971,208. would materially reduce the profits lating to internal policies. I come of the trusts upon sugar and tobacco, but it being the first outpost of feda very brief discussion of a very great | eral legislation for the government of colonial possessions, the trusts took annexation of adjacent territory to the administration by the throat, because their campaign contributions had largely contributed to its election, and demanded that the bill be ly populated than our older states, to throttled because it would establish a precedent for future legislation in re-Cuba. Was ever the inordinate greed The democratic party has always and power of trusts more defiantly exhibited than is shown in the story policies. Its territorial policy has been of national humiliation, by the distinguished republican senator (Mr. speech I have just read! This country has cut off the trade of Porto Rico then taxed its commerce with us in of March, 1801, there were but 13 stars | the United States. The Constitution says that all "duties, imposts and ex- \$4,000,000 to the profit side of the cises shall be uniform throughout the other territory out of which can be United States." To this constitution- net profit would be greater than this time; it would mean a government of it was the defiant challenge of liberty CAUSES OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN. Fellow-citizens, I voted for the declaration of war with Spain to drive the ernel, treacherous Spaniards from the western world. In discussing the causes of that war I said in the house

of representatives on the 24th of March, 1898 that: "Language seems impotent to depict, much less to exaggerate, the cruelties perpetrated by Spain in her efforts to exterminate the Cuban population. The wholesale carnival of blood visited by the early Spanish Conquistadores upon the unrosisting aborigines of the West Indies, Morico and Peru at the beginning of Mexico and Peru at the beginning

contiguous territory, thinly popu-lated, and out of which popu-of Cuba's freedom." lated, and out of which we have Fellow-citizens, the views then excise sovereignty, jurisdiction or con-CHANGE OF PRESIDENTIAL VIEWS. trol over said island, except for the It seems, however, that the presi- pacification thereof, and asserts ita dential mind has changed, not only determination, when that is accom-

were sent abroad to negotiate the by the president, was a solemn exto ask only for the island of Luzon the people of Cuba ought to be free Philippine islands. As against this people should elect a national adminas a naval station, so that our war and independent, and that the United enormous outlay may be credited as a istration and a congress who will blot from our memories all these harbors, and the government secure commondious docking privileges for the rangin and colonies?

States had no purpose of conquest in profit on commerce. Fellow-citizens, islands. The Porto Rican tariff bill career of conquest and colonies?

This opinion was shared by the

This, my friends, is still not a com- keep the faith and give Cuba freedom, the Spanish war, the appropriations of January, 1899, in opposition to the war against the Filipinos.

> "And now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to adbut, in my opinion, the annexation of these remote tropical islands will inaugurate a policy of colonial empire repugnant to republican institutions and alike addressed and above the year preceding the decimental to our own people and to the Ethniques.
>
> Philippine islands are to remain a part of the territory of the United army and navy appropriations over detrimental to our own people and to the Ethniques. Filipinos.
> The hot blood of revolution will be

constant danger to stable government, requiring a large permanent increase of the regular army.

The proposed annexation can not be justified by commercial reasons, inasmuch as the increased expenditure on account of the standing army and the augmented expenses necessary to maintain or-(Mr. Payne), and in the senate by the senator from Ohio (Mr. Foraker), to crystalize these recommendations incrystalize the recommendation in t The contemplated annexation can not therefore be urged upon the grounds of trade expansion; neither can it be fairly claimed as essential to the national de-

A naval station affording a commodious harbor and ample docking privileges for the repair of our great war and merchant ships, would meet all the requirements inthe commerce of the world; we intend that the American flag shall be at the suspicion of pernicious partisanship.

Territorial aggrandizement in these far Territorial aggrandizement in the suspicion of pernicious partisanship. mast-head of our own vessels carrying our own commerce; we intend

I will quote from the speech of Senadistant islands will prove to be an annexation of trouble—an inheritance of woe.

If it was proper to declare that the people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, why does not that great fundamental policy demand the same exalted privilege for the Filipinos, who have been struggling for freedom If a war of conquest against Spain in

Cuba would have been reprehensible, and so disclaimed by congress, why is a policy of conquest to be commended 7,000 miles from our shores?

Mr. Chairman, the permanent annexation of these left and the state of th Mr. Chairman, the permanent annexa-tion of these islands will not only add greatly to the tax burdens of the people, but it will at the same time practically nullify the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, a colonial policy will imperil the interests of American labor by the com-petition of cheap Asiatic labor, and will enormously increase taxation without enermously increase taxation. adding anything of great value to the commerce of our country. Sir, I prefer the expansion of commerce rather than the expansion of far-away undesirable islands. I prefer a homogene-ous people devoted to our free instituous people devoted to our free institu-tions rather than the incorporation into our citizenship of semibarbaric alien races I prefer the peaceful conquests of commerce rather than the stirring commerce rather than the triumphs of armies and navies.

among the great nations of the earth. Sir, let us maintain the principles of free government, which will ultimately dedicate the entire western continent to ances with European and Asiatic pow-

THE COST OF COLONIES. But, my fellow-citizens, let us examine this question for a moment only, from the standpoint urged by some of our people. It is a sordid view, and should have no place in the literature of this discussion, but it may be well to consider it, because of the apparent determination to detion, claimed before the committee grade the flag of our country to the that it creates a precedent that will low level of a mere "commercial asset." Will the annexation of the Philippine archipelago be a profitable come to them, and in my opinion the trade of the Philippine islands, consisting of both exports and imports, will probably amount, under the most favorable conditions, to not more than \$40,000,000 annually. The United

States during the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1900, sold to the Philippine islands products amounting in value to the beggarly sum of \$2,640,449, the ple while they rule the natives." Among the principal items exportmanufactures of iron and steel, from the archipelago of more than usually control not more than 40 per cent, of their trade. If, therefore, the commerce of these islands which stoutly resisted the extension with Spain by the Paris treaty, and amounts to \$40,000,000 the United States in time may control 40 per disregard both of the Declaration of cent. of it, and estimating the profit ident, Thomas Jefferson, on the 4th Independence and the Constitution of on that commerce at one-fourth of its

created splendid states. Every acre al maxim of taxation should be add- amount, and reach \$10,000,000 annualed, if the republican policy is to pre- ly. In such an event, how would the account stand? The United States actually disbursed during the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1900, \$108,consequent upon the Spanish war. able to segregate and identify the

naval cost by reason of the occupapressed remain unchanged up to this one-half of this sum, it would be \$17,- with the flag to Porto Rico and the the homes of millions of energetic pressed remain unchanged up to this and patriotic citizens. This add the United States, by the joint 500,000, certainly a conservative estimate and a subsequent congress, and patriotic citizens. This added territory did not come as the result of the approved by the President, and a subsequent congress might resolution approved by the President, at the next of the army serving in the withdraw, modify or repeal it. The ritory did not come as the result of 3 policy of conquest. The democratic party believed then and now, as President McKinley did less than two years ago, that "forcible anneyation" resolution approved by the President, April 20th, 1898, declared "that the policy of conquest. The democratic party believed then and now, as President McKinley did less than two years ago, that "forcible anneyation" is added termination and not come as the result of 3 policy of conquest. The democratic policy of conquest. The democratic policy of the cost of the army serving in the United States is an average of \$1,000 constitution, therefore, under such a construction, would be the mere shuttle cock of furious partisans, inspection approved by the President, and that our revolutionary fathers overthrew the colony and established to construction, would be the mere shuttle cock of furious partisans, inspection approved by the President, and that our revolutionary fathers of the cost of the army serving in the United States is an average of \$1,000 constitution, therefore, under such a construction, would be the mere shuttle cock of furious partisans, inspection approved by the President, and that our revolutionary fathers of the cost of the army serving in the United States is an average of \$1,000 constitution, therefore, under such a construction, would be the mere shuttle cock of furious partisans, inspection approved by the President, and that our revolutionary fathers of the cost of the army serving in the United States is an average of \$1,000 constitution, therefore, under such a constitution approved by the President, and the the United States hereby disclaims creased pay and other expenses, will stead of the shield and the defense under our code of morals is criminal the United States hereby discialing that average up to not less for the liberties of the people. Could taxation and great peril to free instiguression." upon this question, but upon other plished, to leave the government and which added to the increased naval human liberty—the Constitution of ingtons farewelladdress? Shall we forcost would make an annual drain of the United States? with Spain. When our commissioners | Control of the Island to its people.

Were control of the loss than \$115,000,000 upon our re- Fellow-citizens, in view of the of free government? Shall we forget Paris treaty, their instructions were pression of the American people that quent upon the annexation of the is of supreme importance that the son, Jackson, Lincoln and a long line

president until the changes of views lishment of a Colonial Empire to be people of that island in defiance of telligence, the lofty patriotism and The presidential mind changed on to which I have referred. The na- made in humble imitation of Great the Constitution. It has even gone to which I have referred. The nathe subject of "forcible annexation," tional republican administration then Britain is a very expensive luxury, as further under the republican colonial

from a speech made by me in the party, to conceal the tremendous house of representatives on the 30th treasury liabilities on account of the

pinos, with gatling guns, in connection laration of war.

I can not, as I have said, state the pire. expenditures on account of the army PINOS.

There is a melancholy phase of this situation which should arrest the attention of every thoughtful Ameri- or sound governmental discretion. It can. The United States has sent the is but another expression of a policy flower of the American youth to that which would make every war a war of far-distant tropical clime. The re- conquest. Even emperors have never port of the secretary of war, made in asserted so untenable a doctrine for answer to a resolution of the senate, shows that from July 31st, 1898, to gent people. Napoleon himself hauled May 24th, of the present year, 473 down the French flag from many of American soldiers were killed in action, 1,774 died of wounds and dis- had waved in triumph. This was done eases, 70 committed suicide, 71 become insahe and 1,964 were wounded in battle. I have been unable to ascertain the number killed, wounded, died, committed suicide or have become insane since this official report. The navy department declares its ina- perfidy or dishonor.

for a pension. In addition to the terrible destruction and loss of precious lives, both mously increased, and properly so, by the principles of justice, equality and the addition of substantially all of liberty. the names of our gallant boys who may be so fortunate as to again set foot upon their native soil.

Commenting upon climatic conditions and the attempt to colonize so near the equator, Mr. Bryan, in his matchless speech at Indianapolis

"Even the argument that this earth beand have the physical power to acquire it, can not be invoked to justify the appropriation of the l'hilippine islands by the United States. If the islands were un-inhabited, American citizens would not be willing to go there and till the soil. The white race will not live so near the equa-tor. Other nations have tried to colonize in the same latitude. The Netherlands in the same latitude. The Netherlands have controlled Java for 300 years, and yet to-day there are less than 60,000 people of European birth scattered among 25,000,-000 natives. After a century and a half of English domination in India, less than one-twentieth of one per cent. of the peo-ple in India are of English birth, and it requires an army of 70,000 British soldiers to take care of the tax collectors. Spain has asserted title to the Philippine island for three centuries, and yet, when our flect entered Manila bay, there were less than 19,000 Spaniards residing in the Phil-

send to the Philippines a few traders, a few task masters and a few officeholders, and an army large enough to support the imports from those islands to this THE CONSTITUTION AND THE

FLAG. But, fellow-citizens, I must hasten e dfrom this country to the archipel- The enactment of the Porto Rican ago during the last fiscal year were tariff bill, under the circumstances to which I have adverted, in connection horses, coal, coke, cars and cotton with the Philippine policy leaves no cloth. The chief articles imported to doubt as to the position of the rethis country from the Philippines publican administration upon the iswere sugar cane and Manila hemp. We sue to be settled at the ensuing elecenter upon the policy of trade expan- tion. The republican platform says, sion by the sword, with purchases "That the largest measure of self government consistent with their weltwice the amount we sell to them. It | fare and our duties shall be secured may be well to again remind the peo- to them (the Filipinos) by law." This ple that trade does not always follow is not the doctrine of the Constituthe flag, but it does always seek the tion. It is neither the spirit or the letbest markets for profitable sale and ter of the Declaration of Independexchange. Experience has shown that ence. The issue is indubitably the Recountries with colonial dependencies public against the Empire-the Constitution against the Colonies. The republican administration, following the example of Alexander Hamilton, propose the establishment of a colonial system similar to the English system. government for the colonies and an- right. other for the mother country-the United States. It would mean subjects there and freemen here for a force everywhere; it would mean that the song and story of freedom. the president and congress, who are 878,000 on account of expenditures but the creatures of the Constitution, diate the Declaration of Independcan govern colonies outside of ence and turn our backs upon the The treasury department is not the Constitution; it would mean Constitution? that, although the treaty-making total expenditures in Cuba and Porto power of the Constitution has been invoked to bring territory into the United States, the Constitution can not be furnished. The appropria- itself is powerless to give the people tions made for the army during the of the territory thus added the benepresent fiscal year exceed \$114,000,000. fit of its protection; it would mean The appropriations for the navy are that a constitutional provision could in excess of \$65,000,000. The increased work out an unconstitutional result. Fellow-Citizens: It is claimed that

tion of the Philippine islands can not the Constitution does not apply to be accurately stated; but it probably territory annexed under its proviconstitutes the greater part of the sions, but must be extended by an act appropriations over and above the of congress. An act of congress is appropriations for the maintenance only the expression of its will, which great Writ of Habeas Corpus and of and increase of the navy prior to the may be changed, modified or repealed Spanish war. This amount is about at any time. Under this construct forget that the supreme court has \$35,000,000, but estimating it at only tion, the Constitution might be sent than \$1,500 yearly. With about 65,- ever folly be more monumental than 000 soldiers in the Philippine islands the claim that a mere statutory the yearly cost of our army there enactment could establish, expand, of Patrick Henry for liberty? Shall we must be not less than \$97,500,000, modify or limit the great charter of forget the solemn warnings of Washsources to meet the expenses conse- tenth section of the Paris treaty it the teachings of Washington, Jeffer-

Mr. Chairman, the proposed estab- has already taxed the trade of the

bill clearly reveals the purpose of the

It seems that the administration was dreaming of empire even at the ippine archipelago are not, and never can be, fitted for the discharge of the high duties of American citizenship. If this view is a correct one, the admission of that country to statehood under the Constitution would be attended with perils to our government as well as dangers to the interests of labor. It is obvious, therenevolent assimilation" to the Fin- fore, that they can only be governed as colonies, and such a form of govwith the cost of the governments of ernment is at war with the theories Porto Rico and Cuba, amounted for upon which this government was esthe fiscal year just closed to \$126,- tablished. But, fellow-citizens, if the 543,094.57, that being the increase of Philippine islands are to remain a the Constitution, else there is em-

I would deal with the Filipinos as in Cuba and Porto Rico, but the war | we have solemnly agreed to deal with in the orient is obviously costing our the Cubans. But it is urged by some people, as I have shown, not less than with seeming exhuberant patriotism, \$115,000,000 annually. Indeed, my fel- that it is not the part of wisdom to low-citizens, imperialism comes high! pursue this policy. They assert, with THE DEATH ROLL OF THE FILL much gusto, that the flag once up should never be hauled down. This seemingly patriotic sentiment is without the sanction either of experience the earnest consideration of intellithe capitals of Europe in which it without dishonor to the French flag. The Emperor William hauled down the flag of the German empire after the Franco-Prussian war, although it floated in victory over all France. It is not claimed that this was an act of

bility to furnish the information at The soldiers of the republic carried this time. Enough, however, is our starry banner away up into Canaknown of the awful climatic condi- da during the war of 1812, and yet it tions of the Philippine islands to was hauled down and brought back justify the opinion that a very brief in honor. Our flag once floated in service there will furnish a just basis triumph and glory over the hall of the Montezumas, but no American has ever assumed that it was dishonored when it was brought back to the Rio by disease and the bullets of the Fili- Grande. The flag should never float pinos, our pension roll will be enor- save in honor and in harmony with

CONCLUSION.

My fellow-citizens, the American people do not desire colonies, because they are unprofitable, and for the weightier reason that their acquisition would be the establishment of a Colonial Empire. I believe with the Kansas City platform that "the Filipinos can not be citizens without endangering our civilization, they can not be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civiliaztion or to convert the Republic into an Empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South American."

Mr. Chairman, the result of this campaign will determine whether this government is to slip the anchor of its old safe constitutional moorings to try the certain perils incident to a voyage in quest of Colonial Empire. The issue is pregnant with the destinies of a free people. The United States has survived all the dangers of its constitutional history, and is now a great and powerful republic; splendid in the magnificence and variety of its almost illimitable resources; with a climatic range permitting a variety of production unknown to any other country; with a homogeneous people thoroughly in love with free institutions, and a destiny so exalted and radiant with the rainbow of promise that language is ufterly impotent to

adequately depict or portray. The example of this free republic has lighted up the dark places of the earth; it has established the altars of freedom in every clime; it has been the hope of the oppressed of every nation; it has been the joy of the liberty loving people of the world; it has established constitutional governments; it has caused thrones to totter to their fall; it has stricken shackles from slaves; it has utterly discredited the doctrine that kings rule by divine

When Jefferson announced the masterful doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, and the equality of men, force there and a government of con- to despotism; it was the beginning of sent here; it would mean the final the American republic whose glorious establishment of a government of career to the present time has been

My countrymen, shall we now repu-

Shall we forget the glorious achievements of our armies and navies in behalf of constitutional government? Shall we forget the awful suffering at Valley Forge? Shall we forget the valor and hardships of our soldiers in the war of 1812 and the war with Mexico? Shall we forget the terrible carnage, the anguish and the heartaches of the civil war? Shall we forget that the Monroe Doctrine has been a mighty defense for human liberty? Shall we forget that the Constitution gives us the shield of the the right of trial by jury? Shall we thus far found no authority under the

Shall we forget that the United States was once an English colony and that our revolutionary 'fathers large standing army means enormous tutions?

Shall we forget the thrilling appeals get that this republic is the last refuge

My countrymen, I believe in the in-